THE

ARTICLES

OF

Impeachment

OF

High Treason,

And Other

High Crimes and Misdemeanors,

AGAINST

Robert Earl of Oxford

AND

Earl Mortimer.

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ARTICLES of Impeachment of High Treason, and other High Crimes, &c.

HEREAS many folemn Treaties and Alliances have been formerly entered into between the Crown of England, and other Princes and Potentates of Europe, for their mutual Safety, and from the Confiderations of the Common Danger which threatned all Christendom, from the immoderate Growth of the Power of France. And whereas the preventing the Monarchy of Spain from coming into the Hands of the House of Bourbon, has, for many years been a fundamental Principle and Maxim of Union among the Allies, in order to preserve a just Ballance of Power in Europe: And to that end, as the Defigns of France on the Monarchy of Spain have from time to time appeared, new Treaties and express Stipulations have been enter'd into amongst the Allies, to strengthen themselves against that approaching Danger: And on this Foundation a Treaty for an intended Partition, whereby a small Part only of the Dominions of the Crown of Spain was allotted to the House of Bourbon, was condemn'd by the Wisdom of Parliament, as being highly prejudicial and fatal in its Confequences to England, and the Peace of Europe. And whereas the Duke of Anjou, Grandson to the King of France, on the Demise of Charles the Second King of Spain, took Possession of the entire Monarchy of Spain, whereby the Ballance of Power, the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of Europe were threatned with immediate Danger. Whereupon Leopold, then Emperor of Germany, his late Majesty King William the Third, of Ever-Glorious Memory, and the States-General of the United Provinces, finding at that most critical Juncture, that a strict Conjunction and Alliance be-

OANT POAU tween themselves was become necessary, for repelling the Greatness of the common Danger from so great an Accession of the Power to the then Common Enemy, did, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and One, make, form, and conclude a new Treaty and Alliance, whereby it was agreed, That there shall be and continue between the faid Confederates, his Sacred Imperial Majesty, his Sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, a constant, perpetual, and inviolable Friendship and Correspondence, and that each Party shall be obliged to promote the Advantages of the other, and prevent all Inconveniencies and Dangers that might happen to them, as far as lies in their Power: That the faid Allies, defiring nothing more earnestly than the Peace and general Quiet of all Europe, have adjudg'd, that nothing can be more effe-Etual for the Establishment thereof, than the procuring an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretension to the Spanish Succession, and that the King of Great Britain and the States-General may obtain a particular and fufficient Security for their Kingdoms, Provinces, and Dominions, and for the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects.

That the faid Confederates therefore shall, in the first place, endeavour, by amicable means, to obtain the faid Satisfaction; but if, contrary to their Expe-Etation and Wishes; the same is not had, the said Confederates do engage and promise to one another, that they will affift each other with all their Forces, according to a Specification to be agreed upon in a peculiar Convention for that purpose: That the Confederates, in order to the procuring the Satisfaction and Security aforesaid, shall, amongst other things, use their utmost Endeavours to recover the Provinces of the Spanish Low-Countries, that they may be a Fence and Rampart, commonly called a Barrier, separating and dividing France from the United Provinces, for the Security of the States-General, as they have ferv'd in all times, till of late that the most Christian King has seized them by his Forces; as likewise the Dutchy of Milan, with its Dependencies, as a Fief of the Empire, and contributing to the Security of his Imperial Majesty's Hereditary Dominions; besides the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Lands and Islands upon the Coast of Tuscany in the Mediterranean, that belonged to the Spanish Dominions, and may serve to the same purpose, and will be also of Advantage to the Navigation and Commerce of the Subjects of the King of Great-Britain, and of the United Provinces: That in case the Confederates shall be forced to enter into a War, for obtaining the Satisfaction aforesaid for his Imperial Majesty, and the Security of his Majesty of Great-Britan, and the States-General, they shall communicate their Deligns to one another, as well in relation to the Actions of the War, as all other things wherein the Common Cause is concerned: That it shall not be permitted to either Party, when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless jointly, and by a Communication of Counfels; and no Peace shall be made, unless an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty, and the particular Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions, Navigation and Commerce for his Majesty of Great Britain, and the States-General, be first obtained; and unless care be taken, by fitting Security, that the Kingdoms of France and Spain shall never come and be united under the same Government, nor that one and the same Person shall be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly that the French shall never get into the possession of the Spanish Indies, neither thall they be permitted to fail thither on the account of Traffick, directly or indirectly, on any presence whatfoever: And lastly, unless full liberty be granted unto the Subjects of the King of Great Bri tain, and the States-General, to exercise and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunities, and Franchifes of Commerce by Sea and Land in Spain, the Mediterranean, and all Lands and Places which the King of Spain last deceased did possess at the time of his Death, as well in A, 3 Europe

Europe as elfewhere, which they used and enjoyed, or which the Subjects of both, or either of them, by any Right acquired by Treaties, Agreements, Customs, or any other way whatfoever, might have used and enjoyed before the Death of the late King of Spain: That the same time the said Agreement or Peace shall be made, the Confederates shall agree amongst themselves about all the things that they shall think necessary for the maintaining the Navigation and Commerce of the Subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, and the States-General, in the Lands and Dominions they may acquire, and that were possessed by the late deceased King of Spain, and also in what manner the States-General may be secured by the aforesaid Fence or Barrier. And whereas his faid late Majesty King William and the States-General, feriously considering, that France was then become so formidable from the Accession of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, that, in the Opinion of all the World, Europe was in danger of lofing her Liberty, and undergoing the heavy Yoke of Universal Monarchy, and that the furest Means of affecting that Delign, were to divide the King of Great Britain from the States-General, for which purpose all imaginable Efforts would be made; they therefore thought it necessary to unite in the strictest manner that was possible, and to that end a Defensive Treaty and Alliance was concluded and entered into between them, in or about the Month of November, 1701. wherein it was, amongst other things, agreed, That in case the said High Allies should be jointly Engaged in War, by reason of his Defensive Alliance before-mentioned in the fifth Article, or on any other account, there shall be an Offenfive, and l'efenfive, and perpetual Alliance between em, against those with whom the War shall be, and all their Forces Shall be employed by Sea and Land, and they shall all in con-Junction or separately, as it shall be agreed between them. But fince, in the Alliance with the Emperor, made in September taft, particular Care was taken of the Recovery of the Spanish Low Countries, out of the Hands of the Most Christian King, the faid Confederates exprelly Engage to Aid one another with

all their Forces for the Recovery of the same. And in regard the principal Interest of the said Confederates consists in the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe, the before-mentioned Treaty with the Emperor shall be faithfully and sincerely executed, and both Sides shall Guaranty the same, and use their Endeavours to confirm and render it more strong from time to time : That in making Peace, particular care shall be taken of the Commerce and Traffick of both Nations, as also for their Security, as well in regard to the Low Countries, as the Contries adjacent: That when the War is begun, the Confederates foall act in concert, according to the seventh and eighth Articles of the Treaty of the Third of March, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Seven-Eight, between England and Holland, which is hereby renewed and confirmed; and no Peace, nor Truce, or Suspension of Arms, shall be negotiated or made, but according to the Ninth and Tenth Articles if that Treaty; by which it was agreed, that when the two Allies come once to an open War, it soail be lawful for neither of them afterwards to come to any Ceffation of Arms with him, who shall be declar'd and proclaim'd an Enemy, with out it be done conjointly, and with common Confent: That no Negotiation of Peace shall be set on Foot by one of the Allies, without the concurrence of the other: That each Ally shall contimually, and from time to time, impart to the other, every thing that passes in the said Negotiation, and shall stipulate with the common Enemy for the same Rights, Immunities, Exemptions, and Prevogatives for his Ally, as he does for himfelf, if so be the said Allies do not Agree to the contrary. And whereas the French King having got possession of a great part of the Spanish Dominions, exercised an absolute Authority over that Monarchy, having feized Milan and the Spanish Low-Countries by his Armies, and made himself Master of Cadiz, of the Entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the Ports of the Spanish West Indies by his Fleets, every where designing to invade the Leberties of Europe, and to obstruct the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce; and instead of giving the Satisfadion that ought justly to be expected, had proceeded to further Violences, and had taken on him to declare the Pretended Pr. of Wales, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and bad alfo influenced Spain to concur in the fame Affront; her late Ma-10/ty

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jesty Queen Anne taking notice, that she found berself Olliged, for maintaining the publick Faith, for vindicating the Honour of the Crown, and to prevent the Mischiefs which all Europe was threatened with, to declare war against France and Spain; did accordingly in the Month of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Two, in the most publick and solemn manver, declare war against France and Spain; and in the said Declaration, placing her entire considence in the Help of All mighty God, in so just and necessary an Undertaking, declared that she would, in conjunction with her Allies, vigorously prosecute the same both by Sea and Land, being assured of the ready concurrence of her Subjects, in a Cause they had so open.

ly and beartily esponsed.

And his Imperial Majesty and their High Mightinesses, pursuant to the Treaties aforementioned respedively, in or about the faid Month of May, One Thoufand Seven Hundred and Two, did likewise declare War against France and Spain. And whereas the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, the Electors of Hanover, Saxony, Treves, Mentz, Palatine of the Rhine, the D. of Savoy, the Prince of Hesse, the Dukes of Wolfembuttle, Mecklenberg, and Wirtemberg, the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, and of the Upper Rhine, the Bishops of Munster and Constance, and other Princes and Powers being invited by the faid Grand Alliance, and relying on the Faith thereof, did afterwards become Parties to the faid Confederate War against France and Spain; and in the Treaty entered into in or about the Month of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, between his Imperial Majetty, the Queen of Great Britain, the States-General, and the King of Portugal, it is, amongst other things exprefly stipulated, That no Peace nor Truce shall be made, but by the mutual Confent of all the Confederates; nor shall any at any time be made, whilst the fecond Grandson of the most Christian King by the Dauphin, or any other Prince of the Line of France continues in Spain, nor unless the Crown of Portugal shall fully possess and enjoy all the Lands, Kingdoms, Illes, Castles, Cities, Towns, &c. with their Territories

ries and Dependencies in Spain or elsewhere, which it now possesses. And in the Treaty of Nordlingen, ratify'd by her late Majesty, it is, amongst other things, expresly agreed, that it shall not be allow'd to make particular Treaties, but the Peace shall be jointly treated of, and shall not be concluded without obtaining, as far as is possible, the Re-Union of the Lands belonging to the Circles, and until at least the Security of the affosciated Circles be absolutely provided for in the best manner that is possible, and better than it has formerly been. And whereas to give the greatest Strength that was possible to the Union, so necessary to both Nations, her late Majesty and the States, by a Treaty in the Month of June, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, renewed and confirmed all Treaties and Alliances, then subsisting between them; and therein it is, amongst other things, expresly and particularly flipulated. That as the faid most Serene Queen, and the Lords the States-General, are now in War with France and Spain, and are reciprocally bound to affift each other, and mutually to defend, maintain, and preserve their Countries and Subjects in their Posses. fions, Immunities, and Liberties, as well of Navigation and Commerce, as other Rights whatfoever by Sea and Land, against and in Opposition to all Kings. Princes and States, and particularly against France and Spain, to the end a just and reasonable Peace may the better be obtained, that may establish the Repose and Tranquility of Europe, it is agreed between the most Serene Queen of Great Britain, and the faid Lords the States-General, that neither of the faid Allies shall make a Suspension of Arms or a Peace with France or Spain, or any other King, Prince or State, who shall molest or attack either of the said Allies, but in Conjunction and by common Confent. And whereas the faid War was for several Years carry'd on with Vigour and Unanimity by her Majesty and her Allies, ar a vast Expence both of Blood and Treasure; for the Support of which on the part of England, many Mil. lions have been granted by Parliament, who, on many Occasions since, continu'd not only to express their Sense of the Justice and Necessity of the War, but did frequently give their humble Advice to the Throne, That no Peace could be Safe, Honourable, or Lasting, fo long as the Kingdom of Spain and the West-Indies continu'd in the Possession of any Branch of the House of Bourbon. And whereas it pleased Almighty God. to grant to the Confederate Arms under the Command of their Great and Victorious General the Duke of Marlborough, fuch unparallel'd Successes, as exceeded even their own Hopes and the Fears of the Enemy; and by the many fignal Victories of Schellenberg, Hochstedt, Audenarde, and Ramellies, as well as by the Conquests of the Electorates of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Reduction of the Spanish Netherlands, and many other great Advantages both by Sea and Land; and by the Wisdom and Unanimity of their Counsels, the Glory of the Confederate Arms, and the Reputation of Great Britain in particular, was rais'd to an higher pitch than in any former Age.

lies, wifely forefeeing that whenever the Enemy foould be brought to make Overtures of Peace, the furest way to put an end to the War, and prevent France from putting in practice ber usual Intrigues, was by previously infisting on such Couditions from France, that nothing might remain to be done in a General Affembly, but to give them the Form of a Treaty; Es for those Reasons a Preliminary Treaty was concluded on, and was afterwards figured by the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of her late Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, & afterwards Ratified by their Principals; wherein the Interests of the several Allies were Adjusted, in order to a Generel Treaty of Peace with FR ANCE: And therein the Restitution: of the Spanish Monarchy to the House of AUSTRIA, being one of the chief causes for carrying on the War, is laid down as an immutable Foundation among the Allies. And

whereas in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine, the King of France baving first signify'd his consent.

And whereas her late Majesty, in conjunction with her Al-

to the Restitution of the Spanish Alonarchy to the House of Au-

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firia, fent his M nifters to the Hague to treat with the Miniflers of the principal Allies on a General Peace; and in the Conferences held thereupon, the Interests of all the Allies, as adjusted in the faid Preliminaries, were positively and expresly agreed to by the Ministers of France, and particularly that of the Restitution of the entire Spains Menarchy to the House of Austria; and the faid Negotiation was afterwards broke. on no other Defpute but on the Thirty Seventh Article of the Preliminary Treaty, concerning the time and manner of Evacuating Spain. And whereas the Conferences being refumed at Gertruydenberg, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten, the faid Thirty Seventh Article became the only Subject of the Negotiation which was there fet on Foot. for the finding out some Equivalent by which the same Security might be given to the Allies, as they had by the thirty feventh Article of the faid Preliminaries; and tho' it was unquestionable, that before any Negotiation was begun, that while the Preliminaries were treating, that by those Preliminaries themfelves, that before the last Negotiation was refumed, and all the while it lasted, the Restitution of Spain and the Indies was laid down as a firm and immovable Foundation of the Negotiation, and no question remain'd concerning it with the Ministers of the Allies or those of France, but touching the fecurity for its Execution : And tho' all reasonable and prudent Overtures were made by the Allies for fettling an Equivalent, yet the Conferences were broke off by France without any Satisfaction therein.

And whereas the sincere Intentions of all the Allies to have settled the Peace of Europe on solid and equitable Foundations were notorious and incontestable, and the Rupture of the said Negotiations could only be imputed to the Enemy; her Sacred Majesty, in conjunction with her Allies, renew'd their Resolutions to continue and push on the War with Vigour, and to make all possible Efforts, as the only means lest to force a good and general Peace. And her Majesty in her Speech from the Throne on the 15th of Nov. 1709, taking notice of the Endeavours of the Enemy during the said Negotiations to amuse and create Jealon-fies among the Allies, declared her Resentment thereat,

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and earnestly recommended the carrying on the War. and a vigorous Profecution of the Advantages obtained. that she might put the last hand to that Great Work of reducing the Exorbitant and Oppressive Power which had fo long threatned the Liberties of Europe: And it having pleased Almighty God, after the said Preliminary Treaty, to bleis the Confederate Army under the Command of their Confummate General the Duke of Marlborough with new and fignal Conquests, the Reduction of Tournay, the Victory of Tasnieres, the taking of Mons and Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, and the penetrating the Lines near the Scarpe. And whereas from the prosperous Condition of the Affairs of the Allies, and the Wildom, Firmnels, and Unanimity of their Counsels, nothing remained, in all humane Appearance, but that they should reap the Fruits of all their Victories, in a speedy, just, honourable, and lafting Peace; and on theother hand nothing was left to raise the Hopes of the Enemy, whereby to defeat that happy Prospect, but the Success of their secret Endeavours to disunite the Confederacy. And whereas Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. with other evil-minded Persons, Enemies to the true Interests of their own Country, as well as to the common Liberties and welfare of Europe, having by many wicked Arts and base Infinuations obtain'd Access to her late Majesty Queen Anne, and in or about the Months of July or Aug. 1710, being admitted into her Councils, and into Places of the highest Trust; and to make way for their wicked Enterprizes, did by their evil Counseland Advice prevail on her Majesty to diffolve a Parliament which had given the most unquestionable Proofs of their great Wisdom, and of their true zeal for the Common Cause; for which, as well as for the many Marks of Duty and Affection given to her, her Majesty return'd her hearty Thanks, and exprefled her great Satisfaction. And whereas the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others his Accomplices, had formed a Treacherous Correspondence with the Emissaries of France, by means wherear,

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of certain Propositions were transmitted from France to England, fign'd by Monsieur de Torcy, Secretary of the King of France, in the Month of April, 1711, to be Basis of a Treaty of a General Peace; which Propositions, tho' her Majesty was prevail'd on by the false Counsels of the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer and others, to receive as a sufficient Foundation for a Treaty of a General Peace, and as fuch to communicate them to the Grand Penfionary and the Ministers of Holland, her Majesty however was graciously pleased at the same time to declare to them her Pleafure by her Secretary of State, That being resolved, in making Peace as in making War, to act in perfect concert with the States, she would not lofe a moment in transmitting a Paper of that Importance; and that tho' the Propolitions were general, and contain'd an Air of Complaisance to her Majesty, and the contrary towards the States; yet that could have no ill Consequences, as long as her Majesty and the States understood one another, and acted with as little Referve as became two Powers so nearly ally'd in Interest; and that the Pensionary should be affured, that that Rule should be inviolably kept on our part. Which gracious Declaration of her Majesty, as well as the faid Propositions, being maturely consider'd by the Grand Pensionary and the Ministers of Holland, an Answer was return'd from them to her Majesty, full of Duty and Thankfulness for the obliging manner in which she was pleased to communicate the said Propolations, and with the utmost Assurances of mutual confidence to necessary to prevent the Deligns of the Enemy; but more particularly that the States desir'd equally with Great Britain to have a general, definitive, and lasting Peace, and declar'd that they were ready to joyn in all the most proper measures to procure it; that the Propolitions were yet too general, and that the States desire, as Great Britain did, that France would explain her felf more particularly upon the Points therein contain'd, and impart a Plan which she thinks the most proper to secure the Interest of the Allies, and settle the Repose of Europe, after which a more particular Negociation might be entered into. Notwithstanding all which Premites.

ARTICLE I.

E the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer having no Regard to the Honour ar Safety of her late Majesty or her Kingdoms, or to the many folemn Engagements the was then under to the Old and Faithful Allies of this Nation, or to the common Liberties of Europe; but being devoted to the Interest and Service of the French King, the common Enemy; and being then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and one of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, contrary to his Oath, and in Violation of his Duty and Trust, and in Defiance of the Tenour of the feveral Treaties afore-mentioned, or some of them, as well as of the frequent Advices of Parliament, and the many Declarations of her Majesty from the Throne; but more particularly in Defiance of the folemn and mutual Assurances which had been so lately renew'd between her Majesty and the States, to act in perfect Concert with them in making Peace as in making War, did on or about the months of July or August, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, maliciously and wickedly, form a most treacherous and pernicious Contrivance and Confederacy with other evil dispos'd Persons, then also of her Majesty's Privy-Council, to set on foot a private, separate dishonourable, and destructive Negotiation of Peace between Great Britain and France, without any Communication thereof to her Majesty's Allies, according to their feveral Treaties; and was not only wanting in his Duty and Trust to her Majesty, by not oppofing, and as far as was in his Power by not adviling her Majesty against going into any private separate Negotiation with France; but in Execution of his Purposes aforesaid, he the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, did advise her late Majesty to fend Matthew Prior, Efq; directly to the Court of France

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to make Propolitions of Peace, without communicating the fame to her Majesty's Allies. And accordingly the faid Matthew Prior, by the Advice and with the Privity of him the faid Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and other false and evil Counsellors, in or about the months of July or August, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, was fent in a clandestine manner from England to France, and did communicate the faid Propositions of Peace to the Ministers of France; in which the particular Interests of Great Britain; as well as the common Interest of Europe, were shamefully betray'd: And in manifestation of his faid Delign to exclude her Majesty's Allies from their rust share in the said Negotiation, an exprefs Article was inferted in the faid Propositions, by the Privity and Advice of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, that the Secret should be inviolably kept till allow'd to be divulg'd by the mutual Confent of both Parties: although the French King had in the Propolitions fign'd by Monsieur de Torcy, and transmitted in the month of April preceding, offer'd to treat with the Plenipotentiaries of England and Holland alone, or jointly with those of the Allies, at the Choice of England. By which treacherous and dangerous Advice, he the faid Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did not only contrive and fer on foot a Negotiation of Peace more advantagious to France than even France itself had ask'd; but thereby did put it into the Power of the common Enemy to create incurable Jealoufies and Difcords between her Majesty and her Faithful Allies, and to destroy that Confidence which had fo long and fo fuccessfully been cultivated between them, and which was to necellary for their common Safety.

ARTICLE II.

That the French King laying hold of the faid treacherous Overture, fet on foot in manner aforesaid, did in or about the Months of August or September, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, send over Monsieur Mesnager into England

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to carry on a clandestine and separate Negotiation of Peace; which being made known to him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, he did atterwards in the faid Month of September, 1711. fecretly and unlawfully, without any Colour of Authority, meet, confer, and treat with the faid Sieur Mesnager on the Negotiations of a Peace between Great Britain and France; and therein he did advise and promote the making a private and separate Treaty or Agreement between the faid Crowns: Which faid Treaty or Agreement was afterwards, with the Privity, Confent, and Advice of him the faid Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, agreed, concluded on, and fign'd by the faid Sieur Mesnager on the part of France, and by the Earl of Dartmouth and Henry St. John, Efq: two of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in behalf of her late Ma efty, by Virtue only of her Majesty's Sign Manual under the Signet, and without the least Knowledge or Participation of the Allies.

In which Treaty the immediate Interests even of Great Britain are given up to France, and the Duke of Anjou is admitted to be King of Spain; an express Stipulation being therein made with the Sieur Mesnager in the Name, and (as is therein alledg'd) purfuant to Powers from King Philip as King of Spain. Whereby he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did not only assume to himself Regal Power, in taking upon him to meet and treat with the Enemy without any Authority or Powers from her Majesty; but did what in him lay to subvert the Antient and effablish'd Constitution of the Government of these Kingdoms, by introducing Illegal and Dangerous Methods of transacting the most important Affairs of the State and by which private and seperate Treaty, he the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did what in him lay to dissolve and cancel the many solemn Treaties her Majesty then stood engag'd in to her good and antient Allies, and whereby her Ma efty, even before any thing was finally fettled for the Safety or Advantage of her Kingdoms, was brought to this fatal Dilemma: lemma; Either to submit to the Dictates of France in the Progress of the said Negociation; or, so notorious a Breach of National Faith being divulg'd by the Enemy, from thence to lose all future Considence of her good Allies.

ARTICLE III.

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That the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, the better to disguise and carry on the aforesaid private, separate, and dangerous Negotiation, did, together with other evil-difos'd Persons, then in high Trust under her Majesty, contrive and advise the preparing and forming a Set of General Preliminaries, intitled, Preliminary Articles on the part of France, to come to a General Peace; and that the same should be Sign'd by the faid Sieur Mesnager only, he the said Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did, contrary to his Duty and Trust, imprously advise ber sacred Majesty that the same shou'd be, and accordingly they were received by her Majesty, and communicated to the Ministers of the Allies then residing in England, as the Ground of a General Negotiation of Peace; and as if the same were the only Transactions that had been on this Subject between Great Britain and France. And to this end, the private Treaty, fign'd as aforefaid by the Earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John, on the part of England, and by the faid Sieur Mesnager on the part of France, was by the E. vil Advice and contrivance of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others, wilfully and industrioufly concealed, not only from all the Allies, but even from her Majesty's Council and her Parliament. And he did further advife her Majesty, not only to accept the said General Preliminaries, but in her Name, and by her Authority to communicate the same to the States-General, as a sufficient Foundation whereon to open the Conferences of Peace with France. And, the more effectually to cover from the States-General the permicicus Steps which his evil Influence had Engag'd her Majefty in with the common Enemy; certain Instructions were prepar'd, and by his Counsel and Advice were Sign'd by her Majesty, and deliver d to the Earl of Strafford, her Ambassador to the States-General; wherein the faid E. of Strafford is direded to represent to the Pensionary of Holland, and such others as shall be appointed to confer with him, That when her Majelty

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fly badreceived in May last, by his Excellency's Dispatches. an account of the Sense which those among them, who were at that time in the Secret, had of the Overtures made by France for fetting a General Negotiation of Peace again on Foot, and of the Answer, which it was desir'd might be return'd to the Propositions sign'd by Monsieur de Torcy; her Majesty did immediately acquaint the Enemy, that their Offers were thought by her and by the States-General neither particular nor full enough: And therefore that her Majesty did insist, that they Should form a distinct Project of such a Peace as they were willing to conclude. Whereas no fuch Instances had been made to the Enemy on her Majesty's behalf; but on the contrary. notwithstanding her Majesty had declared, that the Propositions of Monsieur de Torcy were thought by her and the States-General neither particular nor full enough; yet without any further Explication from the Enemy, her Majesty was prevailed on, in manner aforesaid, to send over Iropositions to France as general and infnaring, and in all respects as destrucrive to the Interests of Great Britain and ber Allies, as the Propositions of Monsieur de Torcy. And the said General Preliminaries, communicated to the States in manner aforefaid, were calculated only to amuse and deceive them into a Generai Negotiation with France. And in the Particulars abovefaid, as well as in the feveral others, the faid Instructions contained matters either false or grolly prevaricating and evalve. By which most wicked Counsels of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, that unquestionable Truth and Sacredness, which by the Laws of Nations ought to accompamy and constitute the Instructions of publick Ambassadors to Princes in Friendship and Confederacy against the Common B. nemy, was most vilely prostituted to the most dangerous Purpofes, to deceive and mislead her Majesty's good Allies in matters of the greatest Importance to their own Interests, and the Interests of these Kingdoms; the Honour of Her Majesty's Sacred Person, and of the Imperial Crown of these Realms, which had been raised to the highest Pitch of Glory abroad, and had been justly held in Veneration with her good Allies, was scandaloully debased and tetrayed; and the Royal Hand, by the wicked Arts of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, was made the Instrument to advance the Interest of ARTI: the Common Enemy.

ARTICLE IV.

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I.

That whereas the Earl of Strafford, purfuant to his faid Instructions, had communicated the Preliminaries figned by Monsieur Mesnager only to the States-General, who being juffly alarmed at the preffing Instances made on the part of her Majesty, that Conferences should be opened on Propositions asgeneral and uncertain as those so lately offered by France, and figned by Monfieur de Torcy; and their High. Mightinesses having been unsuccessful in their Remonstrances to the Earl of Strafford against opening the Conferences upon the faid Propolitions, did fend over Monsieur Buys their Ambassador, to represent to her Majesty, as well the Hazard of meeting the Ministers of France before the essential Articles were first fettled by special Preliminaries, or at least explained by France, and made Specifick; as likewife the Advantages to the Enemy, who being but one Body, were influenced by one Council, and directed by one Power, whereas the Confederates confifted of several powers, whose interests are not only distinct; but in many Cases contrary to each other, whereby the French wou'd have a fair Opportunity to divide the Allies, when it would be impossible for them to break in upon France and further to represent, that the propositions themfelves were in some Instances very prejudicial, particularly in the Articles of Commerce, Dunkirk, and the Union of the Growns of France and Spain. All which Representations of the faid Monsieur Buys, by the evil Influence of him the faid Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others, were rendered ineffectual; but in order to prevail upon the States-General to os pen the CONFERENCES upon the faid General Preliminaries, by the Management and Contrivance of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and E. Mortimer, and others, an Occasion was taken to declare to M. Buys, at a Committee of Council in her Majesty's Name, her constant Affection and good Disposition to their State, and to the promoting their Interest, and to treat with their High Mightinesles with a perfect confidence and Harmony : And at the fame time he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, did then falfly and maliciously declare, or was privy to advising and confenting, that it should be, and so it was declared, in her Majesty's Name, that she had made no feparate Treaty with France, nor would ever make any before the had fully complyed with all Engagements to her Allies, and that each of them should have Op.

portunity to make good their Pretentions.

By which false, scandalous, and dishonourable Assurances, he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and E. Mortimer did not only highly dishonour her Majesty, by whose Privity the faid separate-Treaty with France had been before that Time concluded and figned; but their High-Mightinesses, the Good Friends and Antient Allies of her Majesty, were grofly abused, and thereby induced to enter into a Negociation with France, so dangerous in it self, and so fatal in its Consequence.

ARTICLE V.

That her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne having in due Form of Law, and under her Great Seal, conftituted the Right Reverend John Lord Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, her Plenipotentiaries, with full Power to meet, treat, and conclude with the Plenipotentiaries of the Confederates, and those whom the French King shall on his part depute for that purpose, the Conditions of a good and general Peace, that shall be safe, honourable, and, as far as is possible, agreeable to the reasonable Demands of all Parties: he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer not contenting himfelf to abuse the Royal Authority, to the Delusion of the States-General, the nearest Allies of the Queen, but intending the Universal prejudice of his Imperial Majesty, and all the Allies of these Kingdoms, and thereby the more fuccessfully to carry on the Measures of France, wherein he was then engaged, contrived and prepared Instructions, or was privy to, confenting and adviling the fame, for her Majesty's said Plenipotentiaries, which she was prevailed faid

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vailed upon by the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer's evil Counsel to fign, and the same were delivered to the faid Plenipotentiaries; wherein among other things they are instructed to the Effect following, viz. If it shall be thought proper to begin by the Disposition of the Spanish Monarchy, you are to inlift, that the Security and reasonable Satisfaction which the Allies expect, and which his most Christian Majesty has promised, cannot be obtained, if Spain and the West-Indies be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon: Whereas the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer had at that time privately and treacheroully negotiated and agreed with the Minifters of France, That Spain and the West-Indies should remain in a Branch of the House of Bourbon, and had prevailed on her Sacred Majesty to be Party to the faid private Treaty, wherein the same is necesfarily implied. And the faid Plenipotentiaries are further instructed, in case the Enemy should object, as the Imperial Ministers had done, that the second Article of the Seven, fign'd by the Sieur Mesnager implies, that the Duke of Anjou shall continue on the Throne of Spain; you are to infilt, that those Articles, as far as they extend, are indeed binding to France, but that they lay neither us nor our Allies under any politive Obligation: whereby the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer basely entred into a Confederacy and Conclusion even with the Ministers of the Enemy, and prevailed on her Majesty to give her Royal Confent thereto, the more effectually to impole on his Imperial Majesty and all the Allies, and to conceal the laid fecret Negotiations, and the separate Treaty that had been agreed on between Great Britain and France. And the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, not only in the Particulars before-mentioned, but in many others contained in the faid Intructions, has brought a lasting Reproach on the Crown of these Realms, and grossy violated the many Treaties wherein her Sacred Majesty was then engaged to her Allies, to act in perfect Concert with them throughout the Negotiations of Peace.

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That the Conferences of Peace being opened between the Pieprotentiaries of the Allies, and those of the Enemy, for the Negotiating a General Peace upon the mutual and most folemn Engagements amongst the Ailies, not only to all in perfect Confidence with each other, but to promote their Common Intereft, and to obtain from the Enemy all just and reasonable Satisfaction; and a Specifick Explanation of the General Preliminaries baving been given in by the Enemy at Utrecht abereon the Allies helivered their respective Demands; by the Arnfires of France, and the fecret Encouragement and Concurrence of the Minifters of Great Britain, the Progress of the Rid Pablick Negotiation was delay d and kept in suspence, under metence of the Enemies refuling to give their Anfiver in Writing; during which time; be the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer again affuming to bimfelf Regal Power, in de--togation of the Royal Authority, to treat of Peace with Prance. which was then delegated under the Great Seai of Great Britain to ber Majelly's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and for the fromoting the Delign of the Enemy, to the apparent Define. Rion of the Common Caufe of Her Majefty and her Allies, contrary to the known Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom. in direct Violation of the several Alliances ber Majesty then food eneaged in, and in Opposition to the many Assurances oizently her Majesty to act in Concert with her Allies, and in Defiance of the expres Instructions given to ber faid Plenipo tentiaries, was not only wanting in his Duty to ber Majesty, as far as in him Log to have put an end to, and prevented any further private, and unlawful Negotiations with France, but did, with others his Accomplices, advise; concur, continue, and promote a private, separate, and unjustifiable Negotiation with France, directly from England to France, without any Communication thereof to the Allies; and in fuch private Negotiations did concert with the Ministers of the Enemy Term's of Peace, highly prejudicial to the Interest of her Majesty and her Kingdoms, and of all ber Allies, and whereby the good Effects of the faid General Negotiations were entirely defeated. ARTICLE VII.

That her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne having been prevailed on by the falle Counsels of him the faid Robert

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Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, to accept of a Treaty with France, on the Supposition that the Spanish Monarchy should continue in the Possession of a Branch of the House of Bourbon; and it being acknowledged even by the French King in the General Preliminaries, figned by Monfieur Meinager, that the Excels of Power from the Re-union of the Crowns of France and Spain, would be contrary to the Good and general Repose of Europe: He the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer having nothing fo much in view as the aggrandizing the common Enemy. ver always intending to cover the Iniquity of his Heart under specious Pretences and false Appearances. did wickedly and treacheroully advise and carry on a private and separate Negotiation with France, on the Subject of a Renunciation of his Right to the Kingdom of France by the Duke of Anjou, and that fuch Renunciation should be the Security against the Re-union of the two Kingdoms. And by the Influence of his evil Counselsher Majesty was prevailed on to accept and finally to conclude and ratify a Treaty of Peace with France, wherein the faid Renunciation is taken as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Mischiefs that threatned all Europe, in case the Crowns of France and Spain should be united upon the Head of one and the same Person; altho he the said Robert Earl of Ox. ford and Earl Mortimer, well knew, that a Memorial had been, during the faid Separate Negotiation, transmitted by Monfieur de Torcy, Secretary of State and Minister to the French King, to one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; whereby it was declared, that the faid Renunciation would be null and invalid by the Fundamental Laws of France, which Laws were looked upon as the Work of him who had establithed all Monarchies, and which he only could a. bolish; and that no Renunciation therefore could destroy it; and if the King of Spain should renounce, they would deceive themselves that should receive it as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Mischiefs propoled to be avoided. By which falle and treacherous Coun-

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Counsels, he the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did not only betray the Interests of the Common Cause into the Hand of the most formidable Enemy, but wilfully and maliciously abused the Power and Influence which he had obtained with her Majesty, so far as to engage her Sacred Majesty, and the Honour of the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms, to become Party with France in so fatal a deceit.

ARTICLE VIII.

That her late Majesty Queen ANNE having on the Seventh Day of December, in the Year of our Lord 1711. earnestly recommended it from the Throne, That Provision might be made for an early Campaign, in order to carry on the War with Vigour; and as the best way to render the Treaty of Peace effectual; in order to which vast Supplies were granted, and Magazines provided at a great Expence for an early Campaign; and in pursuance thereof, her Majesty having fent her Generals, Lumley and Cadogan, to give early Assurances to her Allies of her sincere Intentions, and likewise expresly instructed her General, the Duke of Ormonde, not only to renew the same Assurance, and declare her Resolutions of pushing on the War, with the utmost Vigour, but to concert with the Generals of the Allies the proper Measures for entring on Action; and the Confederate Army, which at that time was the finest and strongest that had been in the Service during the whole Course of the War, and provided with all Necessaries to act with Vigour, having march'd, according to the Resolution taken in Concert with her Majesty's General, almost up to the Enemy, with a great Superiority both as to the Number and Goodness of Troops, and animated with Courage to acquit themselves bravely; so that in all human Appearance, and with the Divine Affistance, which had appeared so visibly for them on many other Occasions, they would have been able, either by Battle or Siege, to have gained great Advantages over the Enemy, to have bettered the Affairs of the Allies, and to have facilitated the Negotiations of Peace: And the MiniEarl

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sters of France having frequently and earnestly reprefented to the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others his Accomplices, during their fecret Negotiations, their just Apprehensions from the Bravery and good Disposition of the Confederate Army; he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Morrimer being truly informed of the fure Prospect which, by the Bleffing of God, the Army of the Con-Tederates then had, of gaining new Conqueits over the Army of France, and whereby they would have been enabled to have forced Terms of Peace, Safe Honourable, and Lasting: in order to disappoint those comfortable Expectations of the Allies, and to give Succets to his Secret Negotiations with the Ministers of France, was privy to, confenting and adviling, together with other false and evil Counsellors, and together with them did advise and consent, that an Order should be lent, in her Majesty's Name, to the D. of Ormonde in Flanders, to avoid engaging in any Siege, or hazarding a Battel, till further Orders; altho nothing had then been lettled in the faid private Negotiations for the Interest and security of Great Britain, and altho' Philip King of Spain at that time had not confented to the Renunciation of his Right to the Crown of France. And not contenting himself with having obtained that fatal Step, so highly advantageous to the Caute of France, but being wickedly determined to do all that in him lay to diffolve the whole Confederacy, he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, with others, was privy to, and did confent and advife, that Orders should be sent to the Bishop of Bristol, one of her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries then at Utrecht, to take the first folemn Opportunity to declare to the Dutch Ministers, that her Majesty look'd on her self from their Conduct to be then under no Obligation whatloever to them: which two Declarations giving just Alarm to all the Allies, they represented to the Bishop of Bristol their general Dislatisfaction, and the unexpressible Consternation they were all in; that these Proceedings were the unavoidable Ruin of Europe: they

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they urged Religion, Liberty, and the Faith of Treaties, to thew the Enormity of this Ufage; and the States expressed their Uneafiness on no account so much, as that they could not come to the Knowledge of their own Lot. Which Representations the Bishop of Bristol did, at the Instance of the Allies, signify to one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State: but their High Mightinesses finding that all Applications to the Ministers of Great Britain, and in particular to the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, were of no Avail against France, and fre the Interest of the Common Cause, thought it necessary, in a manner the most moving and respectful, to address directly to her Majesty by a Letter of the Fifth of June, 1712; therein expressing their great Surprize and Affliction at the two Declarations afore-mention ned; and finding it difficult to conceive how fuch Declarations, to prejudicial to the Common Caufe, given fo fuddenly without their Knowledge, and undoubtedly too without the Knowledge of the other Allies, could agree, and confift with the Nature of an Alliance, and with those Assurances and Engagements her Ma esty had so lately made, and not knowing how to reconcile it with the great Goodness and Kindness which her Majesty had always honoured them with, and not being able to conceive how fuch a fudden Change could happen with respect to them, having carefully examined their own Conduct; and finding nothing therein that could have given Ground to her Majesty's Distatistaction; and having represented the vilible and immediate fatal. Confequences of the faid two Orders, not only to the Common Interest of her Majesty and the States, but to the whole Confederacy, and to the Protestant Religion; they befeeched her Majesty with all the Respect, and all the Earnestness they were capable of, that the would not perfift in the Declarations made by the Bithop of Briftot, and would be pleased to revoke the Orders given to the Duke of Ormonde, and would authorize him to act according to Occurrences, and as the Exigency of the War, and

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the Advancement of the Common Caufe should require. Notwithstanding which, he the faid Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer being acquainted with the faid Representations of the States, was not only wanting in his Dury to her Majesty, and to his Oath, and the great Trust reposed in him, in not advising as he ought to have done, her Sacred Majesty to have hearkned to the faid feveral Instances made to her; but persisting in his desperate and destructive Measures. for the Advancement of the Interest of the Common Enemy, did afterwards advise her Majesty to difregard and reject the fame, and did countenance, encourage, advise, and promote the said private, separate and wicked Negotiations with France, without any Participation of the Allies, contrary to all her Majesty's Engagements, and to the apparent Ruin of the common Cause. By which several wicked and perfidious Counsels, the Progress of the Victorious Arms of the Confederates was stopped, and an Opportunity lost for conquering the Enemy, the most favourable, in the Opinion of all the General Officers and the Quartermasters of the Allies, who were sent out to view the French Camp, and whereby all Hopes of Confidence between her Majesty and her Allies, was entirely destroyed, and the French King made absolute master of the Negotiations of Peace, and the Affairs of Europe given into his hands.

ARTICLE IX.

That to impose upon the Allies the fatal Necessity of Submitting to the Terms of France, and in order thereto to leave the whole Confederate Army at the mercy of the Common Enemy, he the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, was privy and consenting to a secret and separate Concert with the Ministers of France, without the knowledge of the Allies, for the separating the Troops in her Majesty's Pay from the rest of the Confederate Army: for the effecting whereof, instead of preventing as far as in him lay so fatal a Step, he was not only wanting to advise against so unwarrantable a Proceeding, but did consent

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to and advise her Majesty, that the Duke of Ormonde, and all the Troops then in her Majesty's Pay, or such of them as would obey his Orders, should separate themselves from the Army of the Confederates: and having notice that the Generals of the Auxiliaries, paid by her Majesty, whose Honour and Consciences would not permit them to abandon the Confederates, and leave them as a Sacrifice to France, but for the fake of the Common Interest of Europe, and according to the true End and Delign of their Conventions, did refuse to withdraw with the Duke of Ormonde, without particular Orders from their respective Masters; he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, being then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and one of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, in violation of his Oath, and the Duty and Trust reposed in him, did take upon himself an arbitrary and illegel Power, to refuse and put a Stop to the Pay and Subfidies due on account of the faid foreign Troops, altho' they were entitled thereto by the Conventions entered into with her Sacred Majesty, and by express Provision made by Act of Parliament for the payment of the fame. By which fatal Separation, which purfuant to his evil Counfels was afterwards made, great Numbers of the Confederate Troops, who had before, on many occasions, signalized themselves in the Defence of the Caufe of Europe, foon afterwards, at the unfortunate Action of Denain, fell as Sacrifices to the Fury and Revenge of France; the Siege of Landrecy was raifed, the important Towns and Fortrelles of Quefnay, Bouchain, and Douay were retaken by the French Army; and not only the Fortune of the War, but the Fate of Europe decided in favour of France.

ARTICLE X.

That in further execution of his pernicious Designs, to compleat the Destruction of the Common Cause of Europe, and to render it impracticable for her Majesty to resume the War against France, in conjunction with her Allies, or to recover the Union with her Majesty's old and faithful Allies, so necessary to the Prefervation

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servation of these Kingdoms; he the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, then Lord High Treafurer of Great Britain, did carry on and concert with the Ministers of France, a private and separate Negociation for a General Suspension by Sea and Land, between Great Britain and France; and to that end, among others, did advise her Majesty to send over Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, one of her Principal Secretaries of State, to the Court of France, with Powers to fettle the faid Suspension. In pursuance of which, a destructive Treaty of Suspension was made in France on the 19th of Aug. N. S. 1712, by the faid Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, on the part of her said Majesty, for four Months, without the knowledge or any participation of the Allies, and before any terms of a Peace were fettled with the Enemy, either for Great Britain or the Allies. By which evil Counfels, the express Terms of several of the aforementioned Treaties were exprelly contravened and broken, the good Friends and antient Allies of her Majesty and these Kingdoms were totally deprived of the just Asfistance to which they were thereby entituled, and were left exposed to the Insults of the Common Enemy; and the facred Ties of Union and Friendship between her Majesty and her Allies being cut alunder, her Majesty's Person and Government, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and of the Protestant Succession to the Crown of these Realms, were lest exposed to the Enterprizes of the most formidable Enemy.

ARTICLE XII.

That whereas the States General of the United Provinces were, in or about the Month of Sept. or Octob; in the Year of our Lord 1712, in possession of the strong and important Town and Fortress of Tournay. And whereas the French King had, during the Course of the said private, separate, and traitorous Negociation between him the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others, and the Ministers of France signified his Consent to the Ministers of Great Britain, that the said Town and Fortress of Tournay should remain

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remain to the faid States-General as part of their Barrier: And whereas her Majesty, in her Instructions of Decemb, the 23d, 1711, to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, had, exprestly directed them to insist with the Plenipotentiaries of France, in the General Congress. That towards forming a sufficient Barrier for the States-General, Tournay should remain to their High-Mightinesses; and did afterwards declare herself conformably thereunto, in her Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 6th of June, 1712, in which she communicated to them the Terms whereon a Peace might be made. And whereas for feveral Years betore, and till the faid Months of Sept. and Octob. in the Year of our Lord 1711, there was open War between her late Majesty and the French King; and the faid War continuing for all the faid time, and afterwards, the faid French King and his Subjects were E. nemies to her Majesty: He the faid Robert E. of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and a Subject of her Majesty's, not considering the Duty of his Allegiance, but having altogether withdrawn the cordial Love, and true and due O. bedience, which every true and faithful Subject owed to her faid Ma efty, and defigning to give Aid and Succour, and to adhere to the faid French King, did, in or about the Months of Sept. or Octob. 1712, during the faid War, falfly, maliciously, wickedly, and traitoroufly Aid, Help, and Affift, and adhere to the French King, then an Enemy to her late Majesty; and in execution and performance of his faid Aiding, Affifting, and Adhering, maliciously, fallly, and traitorously did Countel and advise the faid Enemy, in what manner and by what methods the faid important Town and Fortress of Tournay, then in possession of the States-General, might be gained from them to the French K. contrary to the Duty of his Allegiance, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

ARTICLE XII.

That whereas her late Majesty Queen Anne, not only in pursuance of the Treaties we stood engaged in

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to her good Allies, and in particular to his Imperial Majesty, for the Recovery of the Monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria, thereby to preserve a due Ballance of Power in Europe, but also from her just Refentment against the Duke of Anjou, who then stiled himself King of Spain, and who, in Defiance of her Majesty's Title to the Crown, had acknowledged the Pretender as King of Great Britain: and on these just Foundations her Majesty had, in vindication of the Honour of the Crown, and in Justice to her People, at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, and on the earnest and repeated Advices of her Parliament, prosecuted a vigorous War against the said Duke of Anjou. And whereas, in the Years of our Lord 1710,-11,-12, the faid open, bloody, and expensive War was carried on between her said late Majesty Queen Anne, and the faid Duke of Anjou, and during all the time aforefaid the faid War did continue, and for all that time the faid Duke of Anjou, and the Subjects of Spain adhering to him, were Enemies of her late Majesty: He the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and one of her Majesty's Privy-Council, and a Subject of her faid Majesty, not considering the Duty of his Allegiance, but having withdrawn his true Obedience from her said late Majesty, did at several times, in the faid Years of our Lord, 1710, 1711, and 1712, fallly, malicioully, wickedly and traitoroully, aid, help affift, and adhere to the faid Duke of Anjou, then an Enemy to her faid late Majesty; and in the Execution and performance of his faid aiding, helping, affilting and adhering, and in Confederacy and Combination with the then Enemies of her late Majesty, and with divers other wicked and evil disposed Persons, did, at several times, in the Years aforesaid, advise and counsel the Enemies of her late Majesty; and in such counfelling and advising, did concert with them, and did promote the yielding and giving up Spain and the West-Indies, or some part thereof, to the said Duke of Anjou, then in enmity with her Majesty, against the Duty of his Allegiance, and the Laws and Sta-

ARTICLE XIII

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That whereas the Riches, Power and Strength of thefe Kingdoms depend entirely on the flourishing condition of Trade and Navigation, and ber late Majefty Queen Anne baving due regard thereto, as well as to the just Expediations of her People, after the vast Expences they had so cheerfully undergone in Support of the War, did, on the first opening the Conferences for a General Peace, dectare from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament, on the Seventh of December, One Thous fand Seven Hundred and Eleven. That the would endeavour that after a War, which had coft for much Blood and Treasure, the Nation might find their Interest in Trade, and Commerce improved and enlarged by a Peace. And on the Sixth of June, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve, when she was pleafed to communicate the Terms on which a General Peace might be made, did declare, that nothing had mov'd her Majefly from Reddily pursuing the true Interest of her own Kingdoms, and that the Terms of Peace, obtained for ber own Subjects were fuch, as the had reason to expect would make her People some amends for the great and unequal Butden, which they had lain under thro the whole course of the War; and hoped, that none of the Confederates would Enby her Share in the Glory and Advantage; and afterwards declared to both Houses of Parliament her Satisfaction in the near View fee had of Peace, fince it would in some measure recompense her Subjects for their vast Expence: and after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce with France, did declare from the Throne on the Ninth of April, One Thoufand Seven Hundred and Thirteen, that the many Advantages she had obtained for her Surjects, had occasioned much Oppolition and long Delays to the Peace; but it afforded Her great Satisfaction, that her People will have it in their Power, by degrees, to repair what they had fuffered during fo long and burdenfom a War. Whereon both Houses of Parhament did from time to time express their grateful Acknowledge ments to her Majesty, for her great Care and Concern for the Welfare of her People. And whereas at the fetting on foot, and in the progress of the faid private, separate, and pernicife

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ous Negotiations between the Ministers of Great Britam and France, it was laid down as a Principle, on the part of Great Britain, never to be departed from, That France foould confent to adjust the Interests of Great Britain, in the first place, that the Ministers of Great Britain might thereby be enabled to engage the Queen to make the Conclusion of the General Peace eafy to France; and on this plaufible Pretence it was infifted on by the Ministers of Great Britain, to remit the Discussion of the particular Interests of the Allies to General Conferences: and throughout the whole Courfe of the faid separate Negotiation, all imaginable Concessions were not only made by the Ministers of Great Britain for the real Advantage of the Interests of France against the Allies, but all Measures were entred into and concerted between them, that even the Minifters of France could distate, in order to ftrengthen their hands, and to enable them to impose the Terms of a General Peace: He the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, having nothing in view, thro' the whole Courfe of the faid Negoti tion, wherein he was wickedly and principally engaged, in concert with France; but the final Destruction of his Country, and to that end, the facrificing the Commerce of Great Britain, to the Aggrandisment of France, was not only wanting in his Duty to Her Majesty, in not insisting on in all Events, and not procuring, in the first place, the most certain and first Securities imaginable, for the Safety and Advantage of the Commerce of these Kingdoms; but did advise her late Majefly, that in the Proposition fent, by his Privity and Advice, by Mr. Prior to France, and also in the said private and separate Treaty, Signed on the said Seven and Twentieth of September, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, wherein the Preliminary Demands for Great Britain more particularly were intended to be adjusted with France, the Demands for Great Britain, in point of Commerce, Social-not only be made in loofe, general, and insufficient Terms, but that the liberty of Fishing, and drying of Fish on Newfoundland, should be exprestly given up to France, tho the Restitution of that fmall part of the Island, which France had taken during the War, was therein Refered to be Discussed to General Conferences. And having by his wicked Artifices, Engaged ber Majesty in the faid private Treaty with France, wit hout

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without any Security for the Commerce of Great Britain; be did artfully and cummingly contrive with the Ministers of France, to keep in sufpense all matters that concern'd the Commerce of Great Britain, until by means of his Wicked and permicious Counfels aforementioned, France was become Mafler of the Negotiations, and the chief Advantages for the Commerce of Great Britain by that means remaining unfettled: And the Ministers of France afterwards Diffusing the most essential Articles which had been in agitation, and in particular that fundamental Principle of Treating and being Treated as Gens Amicifima, and endeavouring to elude what bad been agreed on in the faid private and separate Negotiation, for the supposed advantage of Great Britain; be the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, under pretence of removing a Difficulty, then depending, by an Expedient, advantageous to Great Britain, did treacheroully advise the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Commerce with France, a Bill for the rendring whereof effectual, was afterwards Rejected by the House of Commons, as highly prejudicial and destructive to the Commerce of these Kingdoms: But yet for fake of gaining that destructive Article for Great Britain, as if the same bad been advantageous, he the said Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer, in defiance of the express provision of an At of Parliament, as well as in contempt of the frequent and earnest Representations of the Merchants of Great Britain, and of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, did advise Her Majefly finally to agree with France, That the Subjects of France should have liberty of Fishing and drying Fish on Newfoundland; and did also advise her Majesty to make a Cesson to France of the Ille of Cape Breton, with liberty to fortify the same, altho' the Isle of Cape Breton was part of the Antient Territories of the Crown of Great Britain; and her Majefty bad declared from the Throne, that France had confented to make an absolute Cession of Nova-Scotia or Acadia, whereof Cape Breton is part, to her Majesty. And the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer, intending in all Events to fearre to France the advantages relating to the Fishery of Newfoundland and to Cape Breton, did, in conjunction with the Ministers of France, advise her Majesty to consent, that the same should be made an Article in the Treaty of Peace between Great

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Great Britain and France: Whereas the only Advantages in Trade, pretended to be stipulated for Great Britain, being inferted in the Treaty of Commerce; were to depend on certain Conditions, to be made good by Act of Parliament; and purfuant to, and by the influence of the faid evil Counfel of him the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer, ber Sacred Majesty was advised to Ratify the faid Article in the faid Treaty of Peace, and the faid Treaty of Commerce. By means of which pernicious Counsels, the good Intentions of her Sacred Majesty, to have obtained for her People advantageous Terms of Commerce, were entirely frustrated, the Trade and Manufactures of Great Britain, as far as in him kay, rendred precarious, and at the mercy of the Enemy, and that beneficial Branch of Trade, always esteem'd the great support of the Naval Power, and the chief Nursery of the Seamen of Great Britain, yielded up to the Subjects of France: And the only pretence for the avowed and notorious Violation of Treaties, and the carrying on the Measures of France, viz. the adjusting first the Interests of Great Britain, through the whole Course of the said private and separate Negotiations; terminated at last in the Sacrifice of the Commerce of Great Britain to France, without the least shadow of Advantage in Irade, procured for these Kingdoms.

ARTICLE XIV.

That he the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer did, in concert with other evil and false Counsellors, even without any Application from his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, and after the French K. had in the Course of the said private and separate Negociations, confented that the Kingdom of Sicily shou'd remain to the House of Austria, form a Project and Design to dispose of the Kingdom of Sicily to the D. of Savoy from the House of Austria: And to effect that his unjust, dishonourable, and pernicious Project, he did advise her Majesty to give Instructions, among other things, to Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, then appointed her Ambassador to France, to demand in Her Majefly's Name, of the French King, the Kingdom of Sicily for his Royal Highness. And a Treaty of Peace being afterwards made b tween the French King, His Royal Royal Highness, and the Duke of Anjou, wherein a Cession is made to his Royal Highness of the Kingdom of Sicily, without any Concourrence or Participation of his Imperial Majesty; he the faid Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer did basely and scandalously advise Her Sacred Majesty to consent to the same, by an Article inferted in the Treaty of Peace between her Majesty and the French King. And afterwards, by his Privity and Advice, Her Majesty was prevail'd on to affift his Royal Highness against the Emperor then in Alliance with Her Majesty, with a part of Her Royal Fleet at her own Expence, in order to put him in possession of the said Kingdom of Sicily. Whereby the greatest Injustice was done to his Imperial Majesty in direct Violation of the Grand Alliance, and contrary to her Majesty's frequent Declarations from the Throne, and her plain and full Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, for obtaining his just and reasonable Satisfaction; and whereby National Faith, and the Honour of the Crown, was vilely betray d, and the Naval Power of these Kingdoms, and the Supplies granted by Parliament for reducing the Common Enemy, were perfidiously employed against the Great and Faithful Ally of this Kingdom.

ARTICLE XV.

That whereas the Dignity and Support of the Imperial Crown of these Realms has in all Ages greatly denended on the Wisdom and Truth of the Communications made from the Throne, especially in Parliament, as the fure and only means whereby the Kings and Queens of this Realm can receive the fincere and faithful Advice of their People in matters of the highest Importance, and which by the Fundamental Laws and Constitution of this Government ought to be inviolably observ'd as the Sacred Band of the Duty and Affection of Subjects to their Sovereign. And whereas by the most antient and known Laws of this Kingdom, it is indiffentably incumbent on the Great Officers of State that furround the Throne, to maintain as far as in them lies, the Sacredness of the Royal Word on all Occasions (35)

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Occasions; ir being most apparent, that the greatest Dishonour to the Throne, and the greatest Danger to these Kingdoms, must inevitably ensue, whenever that Fountain of Truth by wicked Counsels shall be in any degree corrupted, and thereby lose its just Influence and necessary Authority. And whereas the Power of making Peace and War, one of the antient, undoubted, and most important Prerogatives of the Crown, has been always exercis'd by the Sovereigns of these Realms, with the strictest Regard to the Honour of the Crown and the Welfare of the People, and for that end they have in their great Wisdom in all Ages taken the Advice of Parliament on fuch weighty Occafions. And whereas her late Majesty Q. Anne declared from the Throne her gracious Intentions to communicate the Terms of Peace to her Parliament, for their deliberate and ferious Advice therein, wifely foreseeing that the Safery of her Person and Government, of the Prorestant Succession to the Crown, which she had nearest her Heart, and of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties of Europe, did inevitably depend on the happy Conclusion of the faid Negotiations: He the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, having taken on himself throughout the said Negotiations a most Arbitrary and Unwarrantable Authority, and the chief Direction and Influence in her Majesty's Councils; and most wickedly designing to prostitute the Honour of the Crown, and the Dignity of Parliaments, and not only totally to deprive her Majesty of the wholesom and necessary Advice of her Parhament in fo great a Conjuncture, but by misrepresenting the most essential Parts of the Negotiations of Peace, to obtain the Sanction of Parliament to his traitorous proceedings, and thereby fatally to deceive her Majesty, her Allies, her Parliament, and her People; he the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer was not only wanting in the Discharge of that Duty to his Sovereign which became his high Station, by not adviting. against, and as far as in him lay, in all Events, by not prevent_

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preventing even any Intimation from the Throne to the Parliament, which was not conformable to the exactest Truth and Impartiality; but taking Advantage of his ready Accels to her Majesty, and his exorbirant Influence in her Councils, did prepare, form and concert, together with other false and evil Counfellors, feveral Speeches and Declarations to be made by her Majesty from the Throne to her Parliament. on the Subject of the faid Negociations of Peace, & did adviseher Majesty to make the same to her Parliament. And particularly, by means of his false and evil Counfels, her Maesty did, amongst other things, on the 7th of Decemb. 1711, declare from the Throne in the words, or to the effect following: That notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War, both Place and Time are appointed for opening the Treaty of a General Peace. Our Allies, especially the States-General, whose Interest I lock upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready Concurrence express d their Confidence in me. Whereas it was then notorious to all Europe, and the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and others his Accomplices, well knew, that the principal Allies of her Majefly, and particularly the States-General, then had in the strongest and most pressing manner represented not only to her Majesty's Ministers in Holland, but afterwards by a Minister of their own, directly to her Majesty, the insecurity and Danger to the Common Caule, by entring into General Negociations with France on the Propositions sign'd by M. Mesnager; and also their firm Opinion of the faral Consequences that might enfue the reon: And altho' they had still great Apprehensions concerning the Method of opening the Conferences, and the Confequences that might happen thereupon; yet being wrought on by the Menaces and other extraordinary methods used with them by her Majesty's Ministers, and relying on the folemn Affurances and Declarations of her Majesty to support the Interest and Concern of their State, and to act in perfect Confidence and Harmony with them; they

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they did at last, with the greatest Reluctance, consent to enter upon a General Negociation of Peace with France. And in the same Speech her Majesty was prevailed on by the evil Counsels of him the said Robt. Earl of Oxford and E. Mortimer, and others, to declare in the words, or to the effect following: That the Princes and States which have been engaged with us in this War, being by Treaties entitled to have their several Interests secured at a Peace; I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, but I shall also unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance in order to render the General Peace secure and lasting

And in her message of the 17th of January following. her Majesty again expresses the Care she intended to take of all her Allies, and the strict Union in which she proposed to join with them. Whereas by the evil Influence of him the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. mortimer, her Majesty was not only induced to enter into a private Negotiation with France, exclusive of her Allies, but the same was in like manner carried on by him the faid Robert E. of Oxford, and others. And. the leveral Interests, which the Allies were intituled to by their Treaties, were not only not secured to 'em by the Peace, nor any reasonable Satisfaction given to them; but the main Interests of their principal Allies especially of his Imperial Majesty, were by the wicked practices of him the faid Robert E. of Oxford, and others, given up to France; and no Engagements were obtained for continuing the Alliance, in order to sender the general Peace fecure and lasting.

And her majefty having on many former Occasions express'd her Resolutions never to make Peace with Fr. and Spain, so long as Spain and the West-Indies remained in the House of Bourbon; she was prevailed upon by the advise of him the said Robert E. of Oxford and E. mortimer, and others, to declare her felf, in answer to an Address of the House of Peers, 11th of Decemb. 1711, to the effect sollowing; viz. I should be forry a-

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ver Spain and the Indies from the House of Bourbon. Whereas it is most manifest, that he leaving the Kingdom of Spain and the Indies in the House of Bourbon was the Foundation of the private and separate Treary between Great Britain and France, which had been before that time signed even with her majesty's Consent; and the same Fundamental Resolution was immutably observ'd between them to the Conclusion of the Peace.

And her Majesty having frequently declared from the Throne, that her Resolutions in entring into the faid Negotiations were to obtain a general, good, and lasting Peace; and the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht being instructed to treat with France conformably to that end, he the faid Robert E of Oxford and E. Mortimer, in order to remove the just Suspicions which had been conceived of his private and separate Negotiations with Fr. did advise her Majesty to make this further Declaration in her faid Message of the Seventeenth Day of January, That the World will now fee how groundless those Reports are which have been spread abroad by Men of evil Intentions to ferve the worst Deligns; as if a separate Peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least Colour given: whereas a private and separate Negotiation had been carryed on for Five months together between Great Britain and France; and during that time private Propositions had been fent from England, and a private Treaty with a minister of France signed, even by her Majesty's Privity, exclusive of all the Allies, before the said Declaration made by her Majesty. And private and separate measures were thenceforth carried on by the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and his Accomplices, on behalf of her Majesty, with the Ministers of France, even to the Conclusion of the Peace with France. Her Majesty was further prevailed on by the wicked Advice of him the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, in her Speech of June the Sixth, 1712, to declare, That to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, the would not eco-

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be content with what was Speculative, but infifted upon fomething Solid: And in the same Speech to the Effect following, videlicet, The Nature of the Proposal for a Renunciation is such, that it executes it felf, and France and Spain are thereby more effectually divided than ever : Whereas the ministers of Fr. had before that time affured the ministers of her Majefly, That to accept of the Expedient propoled on her Ma efty's Behalf, would be to build on a landy Founflation: and that the Renunciation would be null and void by the Fundamental Laws of France; and that they would deceive themselves, who accepted it as an Expedient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns. And not only in the Particulars before-mentioned. but in many others contained in the faid feveral Spee ches and Messages made and sent to her Parliament, even while the faid Negotiations of Peace with France were depending, the most essential Points relating to Peace and Commerce, and which concerned the Interest as well of the Allies as of Great Britain, grolly misrepresented. By all which wicked, treacherous, and unexampled evil Counfels, he the faid Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, did most basely, ungratefully, and scandalously abuse the Fayour of his Royal Mistress, and by means of her Authority did millead her Parliament into groundless and fatal Resolutions; and thereby not only prevented the just Advise of the Parliament to her Majesty in that critical Juncture, but obtained the Approbation of Parliament to his mysterious and dangerous Practices; and did not only deprive her Majesty of the Confidence and Affection of her Allies, but expored her-Majesty and her People to the Contempt of the Common Enemy.

That whereas the said Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer having on all occasions used his utmost Endeavours to subvert the antient Established Constitution of Parliaments, the great and only Security of the Prerogative of the Crown, and of the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People, and Peing

being most wickedly determined at one fatal Blow, as far as in bim lay, to destroy the Freedom and Independency of the House of Lords, the great Ornament and nearest Support of the Inc. perial Crown of these Realms, and fally intending to disguise his mischievous Purposes, under a pretended Zeal for the Prerogative of the Crown, he the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer, on or about the Months of December or January. 1711, while the House of Lords were under an Adjournment, and had Reason to expect that on their next Meeting Matters of the Highest Importance would be Communicated to em from the Throne, they having some few Days before given their bumble Opinion and Advice to ber Majesty, That no Peace could be Safe or Honourable to Great Britain, or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon; and being then Lord High-Treasurer of Great Britain, and one of Her Majesty's Privy-Council, and affuming to himself an Arbitary Direction and Controul in ber Majesty's Councils, contrary to his Duty and his Oath, and in Violation of the great Trust reposed in him, and with an immediate Purpose to render inesfectual the many earnest Representations of ber Majesty's Allies against the faid Negociations of peace, as well as to prevent the good Effects of the fand Advice of the House of Lords; and in order to obtain such further Resolutions of that House of parliament on the important Subject of the Negociations of peace, as might Shelter and promote his Secret and unwarrantable proceedings, together with other false and evil Counsellors, did advise ber Majesty to make and create Twelve peers of this Reaim, and Lords of parliament; and purfuant to his destructive Counsels Letters patents did forthwith pafs, and Writs iffued, whereby Twelve peers were made and created: And did likewife advise her Majesty immediately to call and fummon them to parliament; which being done accordingly, they took then Seats in the House of Lords on or about the Second of Famuary, 1711. to which Day the House then stood Adjourn'd. Whereby the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer did most highly abuse the Influence be then had with her Majesty, and prevailed on her to exercise in the most imprecedented and dangerous manner that valuable and undoubted prerogative, which the Wildom of the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom bath entruste d (41)

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trusted with the Crown for the Rewarding fignal Virtue and stinguished Merit. By which desperate Advice he did not ly as far as in him lay, deprive her Majesty of the Continuice of those seasonable and wholsome Councils in that Critical uncture, but wickedly perverted the true and only End of bat great and useful prerogative, to the Disbonour of the crown, and the irreparable mischief to the Constitution of Pariaments. All which Crimes and Misdemeanors, committed and done by him the said Earl against our late Sovereign Lady the Queen, her Crown and Dignity, the Peace and Interest of thu Kingdom, and in Breach of the several Trusts reposed in him the said E. and he the said E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer was Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and one of her Majesty's Privy Council during the time that all and every the Crimes before set forthwere done and committed. For which matters Rurgesses of the House of and Things, the Kts. Citizens, Commons in Parliament affembles, ao, in the Name of them. elves, and of all he Commons of Great Britain, impeach the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer of High Treason, and ther High Crimes and Misdemeanors in the said Articles conain'd. And the faid Commons by Protestation faving to themelves the Liberty of exhibiting at any time bereafter any other decufations or Impeachments against the faid E. and also relying to the Answers which the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer fall make to the Premises, or any of them, or to any Impeachment or Accusation that shall be by them exhibited. according to the Course and Proceedings of Parliament, do pray that the faid Robert E of Oxford and E. Mortimer be put to infiner all and every the I'remises; and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals and Judgments may be upon them, and very of them had and used, as shall be agreeable to Law and Julice. And they dofurther pray and demand, That the faid Robert E. of Oxford and E. Mortimer may be sequestred from Parhament, and forthwith committed to fafe Cuftody.

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